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AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

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NEW SERIES

ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON,
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VOLUME 23

~~1920~~ 1921

[title page]

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KRAUS REPRINT CORPORATION, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
1962

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THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which has not been so fully described as some others.

TABU

GENERAL REMARKS

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga. Very frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi (Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indicating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas*, frequently equivalent to the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh*, the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

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braces concretely the body of prescriptions which regulate the conduct of man in his relations to tabu persons and things. 784 778

Besides the simple word tabu there are several compounds in common use, the reduplicated form *tobutabu* which indicates a high degree of sacredness, as does also the word *tabuha*. There is the verb *tabui* which means "to place under a tabu," and the noun *tabuaki*, with corresponding adjective *tabuekina* and verb *tabuakii*, which are used now with the sense of bless, though if that be the precise ancient signification I am unable to say. These words are used frequently in Christian worship though I do not remember to have seen the three last in an old document. Possibly their meaning is "to invest with sacredness."

The range of ideas included under tabu is very wide, varying from the religious sanctity of gods and chiefs to the working of sympathetic magic. In its practical application to daily life it is a system of prohibitions, widening to meet the demands of religious, social, and industrial activities. Some tabus, therefore, should be studied rather for the light they throw, for example, on social organisation than as elements in definite religious practice, but whether the tabu be to ensure a satisfactory yam harvest, or to preserve the purity of social relations, or to regulate the approach of man to his gods, the sanction is in all cases supernatural, safeguarded by laws beyond mortal ken, though man may frequently rid himself, and in some cases even forestall, the uncanny vengeance of the violated tabu. Although civilised and scientific man may classify the phenomena into various groups, to primitive man they are all part and parcel of the same thing, the relation of man with the great and often terrifying body of the unknown, all included under the same word and regarded with the same awe. There is no doubt that in some directions native ideas must have been rather vague as to what would be the consequences of neglected tabus, as experimental evidence was obviously not easily come by. 784

From before his birth till his death, or after it, primitive man is surrounded by prohibitions of mystic sanction. It must not be imagined, however, that at the stage of development at which Tongans had arrived freedom was so curtailed, or the mind so filled with shadowy

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dread, as to make life wretched. There were many tabus, but some of them resulted from the mistaken premisses of primitive science, and however ineffective their observance may have been they imposed no more toil on the laborer than a due regard to scientific agriculture entails on the white farmer. Rather less toilsome perhaps were they, but less useful. Again, in the matter of social relations the Tongan enjoyed in some respects a greater liberty than did his Christian contemporary, whilst the duties imposed by religion proper were neither oft recurring nor excessively burdensome. The fear of hell which many a primitive man has exchanged for his heathenism would seem a motive for more harrowing dread than any supplied by his discarded beliefs. A mild climate, abundant rainfall, and fertile soil, in the fruits of which all might share, went far to assure physical contentment, and, though the modern tendency is certainly not to underrate the importance of economic factors in national and cultural development, their potency in promoting material well-being is not likely to be overstated.

In passing it may be remarked that Christianization frequently means for primitive man the carrying over to a new set of objects much of the old manner of thought. Thus Sunday, called in Tongan by the Jewish name Sabbath, "Sabate," is the tabu day. The prohibitions against labor in the Fourth Commandment are naturally and properly rendered in the Tongan version of the Bible (which by the way is called the Tabu Book) as labor being tabu on the seventh day, and this idea of the tabu day is more easily assimilated and more strictly enforced than many of the more positive precepts of Christian teaching. A Tongan will not so much as pluck a flower or break a branch from a shrub on that day. Again, church buildings are tabu. The practice, not infrequent in white countries, especially in rural districts, of holding social gatherings in church buildings at which food and drink are served would be entirely repugnant to Tongan thought. From regard to sacredness, also, water from church roofs is not stored or used. It is said that a few years ago a child died in one of the Haapai Islands through drinking water which had dripped from a church roof into an empty tin placed under the eaves.

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BIRTH AND PUBERTY

Before his birth the Tongan is protected by tabus which show the working of sympathetic magic. The expectant mother must not put any sort of girdle or necklace about her neck lest in labor the umbilical cord become entangled around the child's neck. The coconut for her to drink must be properly opened. There are two ways of opening a nut, one by piercing the little round eye at the stalk end, and the other by striking off the bottom of the nut, thus making a hole usually about two inches across. The pregnant woman must drink only nuts pierced at the top. Shou'd she drink one opened by the other method her child's mouth will gape like the gaping coconut. She must not cut anything with a knife. Should she neglect this precaution her child will be marked by some sympathetic deformity, e.g., the hand may be deformed as though the fingers had been shorn off. She must not sit in the doorway of a house, lest, as she is partly within and partly without the house, her child's face reflect this local ambiguity by being differently formed on the two sides. The pregnant woman must allow no temptation to induce her to steal, as the child is sure to bear the mark of theft. Should the mother, for instance, steal a fowl and prepare it for the oven the child's legs may be trussed up like the fowl's, and so on of other thefts and their appropriate stigmata. In 1920 a woman bore a child whose hands were deformed as though the fingers had been cut off. She was questioned, and confessed that during her pregnancy she had stolen and cut up a fowl. These prohibitions for a pregnant woman apply with especial force against unauthorized meddling with her husband's possessions, though if she obtain his permission to use anything belonging to him she may do so without fear.

After confinement both mother and child are smeared with turmeric, and the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five nights, or, as we should say, five days. Bathing was also prohibited for a fixed period, in this case three nights, after a boy had undergone the operation of supercision, which is performed at the approach of puberty. After three nights the boy goes to the sea and bathes, this bathing having been called in my hearing, though doubtfully, the tabu bath. At about the same time the long lock of hair left on a

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boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

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success in love in the case both of boys and girls. The severed cord, as Mr. McKern has informed me, is carefully buried in some recognizable place, e.g., in a mound if there be one conveniently close, or the spot may be marked by planting a tree or shrub.

SOCIAL TABUS

Social life is guarded by tabus which in their most general form forbid an inferior to touch his superior. Dr. Martin remarks (in Mariner's *Tonga*), "Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shows in an odd way, viz., by never entering the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned." This tabu noted by Mariner between brother and sister is not confined to the eldest sister, but is general. "Brother" and "sister" are of course misleading terms if understood with their English connotation. Distant cousins are included, and "collateral relatives" would better translate the Tongan words. But using "brother" and "sister" with the breadth of the corresponding Tongan terms we find that brothers and sisters are tabu to each other. A brother, if he enter a room where his sister is sitting, must keep at a distance from her, and so of the sister coming upon her brother. If a man is sitting talking to other women his sister must not approach the party at all. This tabu upon the intercourse of brothers and sisters is not entirely incompatible with cousin marriage, which may take place with the approval of the relatives on either side whose prerogative it is to secure a match for the couple concerned. When the match has been arranged the hitherto tabued "brother" and "sister" may be brought together and mated. Quite recently a youth and maid, distantly related, set their affections on each other, but when their love, which was very innocent, became known the relatives failed to smile. The girl's real brother in particular professed himself filled with shame, and the unhappy swain carried his embarrassment and stricken heart to another island. Tongan resentment, however, is short, life has resumed its normal course, and the youth has returned, though he appears to have left his unlucky passion in the place of his temporary exile.

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The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs. 582 605 [565]

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back." 784 562 584 [554]

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later. 784 554 264 753 755 [272] [171]

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The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are naturally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink, so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experience this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remonstrated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excellent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

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must make shift to obtain elsewhere a utensil fitted for their purpose. 565

A strict regard to the tabu surrounding the persons of superiors 576 would introduce almost intolerable inconveniences into the relations 554 of intimate domestic life, but although there is considerable relaxa- 593 tion the tabu of the head and face is observed fairly strictly. A 576 father's head is tabu to his child. There may be Tongan fathers who would pick up their children and let them pull their moustaches or hair as many a white father does, but they can not be numerous. The Tongan father does not nurse and caress his child as freely as the European father does. There are doubtless other considerations operative, of which, by the way, lack of natural affection is not one, but probably the most potent reason is the tabu of the father's person.

DEATH

In the treatment of the dead the working of these ideas is clearly 764 seen. The body is prepared for burial by those of family rank supe- 554 rior to that of the deceased, who had been able to approach him freely during his lifetime. Relatives and friends of inferior rank will pay a farewell visit to the deceased shortly after death, but the visit is short, and during it they sit at a respectful distance in that part of the room towards which the feet of the body are pointing. The visitors may indeed kiss the face of their dead friend (probably an innovation since the introduction of Christianity), but after bestowing the kiss they at once retire to a proper distance. There are those who kiss, not the face, but the feet of the deceased. Ordinarily the body is prepared for burial by those whose relations to the deceased enable them to approach him freely, and they suffer no inconvenience from the contact. In the case of high chiefs, however, the last offices [565] are of necessity performed by those of inferior social status, and [784] their hands are thereafter tabu for a certain period, during which the [264] tabued person may not feed himself. It has not often been the fortune of Europeans in these latter days to see a person with tabued hands, but the Rev. C. P. Walkden Brown, late Chairman of the Methodist Mission, who left the group in 1908, was on one occasion present at a Tongan feast in company with a man under this interdict.

The rites in connection with the burial of great chiefs have fortu- 764

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nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans, especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body, but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut) around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

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probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or malae." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.

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THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors
or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned
to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui
Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of
course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was
safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest
some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the
purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose
real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of
So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the
speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my
speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but
naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely
extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, any-
thing which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the pres-
ence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface.
Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 521
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tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence of embarrassment.

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning "flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as "Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and

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zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibiscus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, and represented certain chiefly families.

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was finished. These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made.

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Presumably if men passed from one side to the other of the net the fish would do the same. The various sweet-smelling flowers which are used to adorn and scent the leaf-girdles which are always worn on festival occasions by both men and women, but particularly by the women, are protected by a tabu belonging to the range of sympathetic magic. Flowers that have been used in the leaf-girdle must not be burnt before they are quite dead and dried up. Should this tabu be violated the tree from which the burnt blossoms were taken will thereafter be useless for supplying flowers for the girdles, and any blooms plucked from it will quickly fade. It is only the individual tree which is affected, and flowers from other trees of the same species will retain their scent and freshness as before.

Fishing, an important industry of the inhabitants of these tiny islets, and one moreover subject to alternations of success and failure, of calm tranquillity and boisterous hazard, from causes which it is frequently difficult either to foresee or to explain, retains in large measure its old safeguard of tabus. If a man be out fishing and someone inquire of his wife where he is she must not tell. Better to sacrifice the truth than her husband's luck. This tabu, however, is now falling into disregard. The best known tabus are those concerning the bonito and the shark. The bonito whose origin, or at the least first arrival in Tongan waters, has a supernatural connection with the Tui Haangana, the chief of the island of Haano in Haapai will not suffer himself to be caught off that island if the chief ventures outside his house whilst bonito are in the vicinity. A similar tabu keeps one of the chiefs of the eastern end of Tongatabu within doors when the bonito appears. There is also a proper order for the disposal of the first-fruits of the bonito fishing in Tongatabu before the fish is available for the people at large.

Of no fishing is the ritual more exact and more flourishing today than that attending the pursuit of the shark. The most perfect harmony, even of thought and sentiment, must prevail amongst the fishermen and amongst their friends and relatives ashore. Discord or the hidden rancor of the heart is fatal to success. A young woman relates that in her childhood, as a party of shark-fishers were setting out, she cried to be taken with her father who was a member of the

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expedition. Every means was tried to pacify the child, but in vain. The situation was extremely awkward. On the one hand was the difficulty of taking the girl, and on the other the futility of hoping to take a shark if she were left weeping ashore. Finally, as the child refused to be comforted, she was perforce taken on board. The shark-fishing has been described in his book *Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique*, by His Lordship Bishop Blanc of the Catholic Mission in Tonga, or P. Soane Malia as His Lordship was called at the time of publication.[1] Before the expedition sets out a house ashore is shut up and becomes tabu. "This house had just been carefully shut, shortly before the departure of the fishermen. It was that of the head man. Its being closed and the departure of its owner gave it a mysterious character; it became 'house of the fishing,' that is to say a place to which approach was forbidden to everybody until the return from the fishing." The shark is taken by a running noose on the end of a line, and is enticed alongside the boat by sounding with the coconut-shell rattle formed by threading coconut-shells on a stick, and by the fishermen calling out. The crew not only call to the shark to come, but add many blandishments, with flattery of its beauty and wily promises of high festival ashore. The subsidiary inducement of a piece of roast pork displayed outboard is not wholly discountenanced.

When the shark has once come alongside his fate is usually sealed. The noose is slipped dexterously over his head, and if necessary a man will even jump into the sea to make a better adjustment of the cord. Non-success in this sport is attributed to broken tabus. On the occasion which Bishop Blanc describes nine sharks were taken, and it may be best to quote a little of the conversation which he had with the head of the expedition after its return:

"And you have done this (i.e., called and taken a shark) nine times?"

"Yes."

"And the shark always comes? It always obeys?"

"When it does not come that is a bad sign. There is something in fact which prevents the shark from coming."

[1] It was published by Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, Lyons and Paris, 1910.

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"And what then?"

"When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the fishing may recommence."[1]

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark-god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing generally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat herself, than on their skill as fishermen. "The fishing is accursed; let us go ashore."

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf representation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was as effective as turning the shark-god Taufa loose in the garden. It is stated that Taufaahau, better known to Europeans as King George I—under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homogeneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under the word *hia*, which is commonly translated "sin" but is today too much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

[1] Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

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Another native, commenting on sexual breaches, remarked that a man who violated the wife of a great chief would be slain by his own people. There would seem to be little doubt that if any such hardy lover escaped the vengeance of mortals his offence would not pass unnoticed of the unseen powers. In fact an instance of this sort was recently related to Mr. Gifford and myself. A man of considerable rank had gone from the island of Eua to Tongatabu and was living in close and friendly connection with the reigning Tui Tonga. The latter went on a voyage to Haapai shortly after one of his wives (not the chief wife) had given birth to a child, leaving the mother and babe to the care of the Euan whose relations with his fair charge soon became too fond and intimate. As a consequence of his wife's frailty the Tui Tonga found on his return that the child had fallen ill. The secret of the guilty pair had, however, not yet been divulged, and recourse was had to the lot, by spinning a coconut, to discover the person whose wrong-doing was responsible for the royal infant's alarming condition. The lot fell between the Tui Tonga himself and his unfaithful spouse. The next spin brought the guilt right home to the woman who confessed her sin. The story ends in a manner to satisfy the most susceptible reader of love romances. Not only did the Tui Tonga forgive the lady, but he bestowed both her and the infant on the successful lover, and all three removed to Eua where the child became the progenitor of a line of chiefs. It was apparently no uncommon thing for a village to choose a handsome girl to take to a high chief that she might bring back to them a chiefly child. Such a child was called by a word indicating that he was not so much the possession of an individual mother as of the whole village or family group.

The consequences attendant on illicit love affairs are often illustrated today. Not infrequently a man and woman who do not desire to marry, or are unable to because of some previous union, take an oath of mutual fidelity on the Bible. Various circumstances may make them desire to be rid of this bond. Perhaps if the woman is married one of her legitimate children falls ill. One of the parties themselves, or one or other of their relatives, may become sick, or die. Although no entanglements of this sort may be impeding the course

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of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide. Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and before it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

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It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear (*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus-

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ters of animal fruitage have often been photographed, and are widely known. Tradition speaks of a white flying-fox whose appearance is the sign of the approaching death of Ata. The other flying-foxes give this uncanny visitor wide elbow room. The tradition of the occasional appearance of a white flying-fox is correct, as the present Ata has seen no less than three—the last no longer ago than last year. This last one, maimed by a broken wing, fell into the possession of Ata himself, who was tending it, purposing on its recovery to present it to the queen, but unfortunately dogs or pigs snipped its vital cord. Ata, who is a very robust and athletic man in young middle life, has manifested no alarming symptoms as a result of being honored by a visit from the ominous creature. A white flying-fox figures in an old story as being used for divination by Bunga, chief of Boha in eastern Tongatabu.

Mr. W. H. Murley of Haapai and Mr. Gifford of the University of California have severally come across instances of fog being regarded as ominous of the death of a chief. Difference of opinion evidently prevails as to the rationale of this portent. Mr. Murley, who is exceptionally well versed in Tongan custom and tradition, speaks of a mist on the sea as ominous, whilst very good native opinion has assured me that the mist only presages evil when it is over the land. Several birds are also ominous. Should a traveler find a kingfisher persistently flying about him, that is a warning to relinquish his journey and return home. The hooting of an owl in the evening near a dwelling is the publication of the pregnancy of a woman in the house. The crowing of a cock in the afternoon (perhaps early evening) is a harbinger of evil unless he be answered by another cock. The crying of the rail at night is an omen of death, and the direction of his flight indicates the place in which the doomed person shall be buried. Mr. Murley notes that as he was sitting with a native a kingfisher entered the room, and his native friend became very uneasy at this circumstance as a portent of evil. Not only the kingfisher is thus ominous. Mr. Murley's friend informed him "that evil spirits come in with the rubbish, and lizards and rats as well as kingfishers." A similar instance came under my own observation. A *fuleheu* (*Ptilotis curunculata*) came into my room, and a native

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girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right.

MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it.

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other statements it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to

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obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

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APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

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Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of supernatural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of Maealiuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maealiuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

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was startled to see that he had wings. This last touch is probably due to the influence of the Bible. Like a wise soothsayer this visitant, though so precise with regard to months, allowed himself latitude in years. In September, 1912, there was a volcanic outburst in Niua Foou, though not very serious and unattended by loss of life. This doubtless is a suitable event to carry the responsibility of the doleful vaticination regarding the month of September.

DIVINATION

The fact that supernatural forces and beings manifest themselves through material agencies would invest with importance the office of those who were skilled in reading the signs. One Tongan stated that those who had no god to apply to had recourse to a diviner (*tongafiji*), adding the interesting detail that there was aruspication by examination of the blood of animals. Another said that he thought that each god had his own diviner, but the most trustworthy statements show no evidence of a class of diviners attached to the gods apart from the priests. A certain cowrie shell god used to give indications of his will by movements, as by standing up on end. War clubs, presumably those kept in the temples, were consulted on the expediency of going to war. If the club shook that was the god giving his vote for war, but if it remained still that was a declaration against the opening of hostilities. Whilst, however, the interpretation of the will of the gods was the function of the priests, there were diviners (*tongafiji*) who, without being priests or being attached in any special way to a particular god, were able to see what was distant in time and space. The word *kikite* which is used of divination and foretelling seems to contain the same root as the word *kite* which is used of the appearance of anything at a distance, particularly of land showing up when one is out at sea. I have not been able to discover that these diviners were reputed to be inspired by any god, but they seem merely to have seen and declared things by some inward light of their own. A rather circumstantial account is preserved of a famous soothsayer named Hema who knew from the island of Eua the progress of a single-sticks match in Tongatabu in which a local champion was opposed by a mighty fighter from Eua. Hema kept the Eua people posted

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on the progress of the contest with the promptness and certainty of a wireless installation and had the melancholy duty of informing them of the defeat of their own champion. His best remembered exploit was that of telling a chief the time at which a pet bird, which had flown away and was many days overdue, would return. Not content with the bald statement as to the day and time at which the chief would again see his bird he gave a detailed itinerary of the homeward flight.

A rather peculiar idea belonging to the same range of conceptions is seen in the power asserted to have been possessed by the chief Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu of knowing everything that was going on everywhere. Loau occupies a unique place in Tongan history, for though he is undoubtedly a historical personage and is asserted to have left a deep and enduring mark on Tongan polity, no place is assigned him in any of the known chiefly families. He came none knows whence and departed none knows whither. His name is connected with the small district called Haamea near Nukualofa, but the spot within Haamea on which he lived is named Maananga, and it is said that quietly at home at Maananga he knew all that was going on elsewhere, whence the word *toka-i-maananga* (known in Maananga) is used of omniscience, and is so used today in Christian worship.

In passing it may be noted that the Tongans assert that there have been navigators so skilful that they could tell their whereabouts when out of sight of land by dipping their hands into the sea and scooping up a little of the water. Looking at the sample of ocean the gifted mariner would say "This is the sea of Vavau," "of Tongatabu," and so forth, and thus get his bearings. The last man who possessed this power has not been dead many years.

The old story of Muni of the Torn Eye relates that Bunga (Coral), a chief in the east of Tongatabu, had a white flying-fox which he used for divination. When Muni, whose legendary exploits are strongly reminiscent of those of the god Maui, visited with hostile intent the home of Bunga the latter was out at sea fishing. His flying-fox at once flew out to him, and Bunga, suspecting that matters of grave import were afoot, set himself a sign whereby he should know by the part of the boat on which the creature settled whether

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the omen were good or evil. The portent was of bad tidings, and 787
Bunga returned to shore with all possible speed to find that his harem 825
had been ravished (success in the feats of love, as in those of war, 539
being here as elsewhere a mark of the legendary hero), and two great kava plants which had stood near his house torn up and carried away. Bunga pursued Muni, but in the contest which followed he was defeated though not slain.

Old travelers mention a wooden bowl used for divination. The 787
Introduction of the *Voyage of the Duff* in referring to Tasman's visit says, "An elderly chief who seems at that time to have had sovereign authority . . . was highly gratified by the presents made him. Among them was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long [695]
afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining cup to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative." Later on in the same Introduction 643
it is stated that the king, dining with Captain Cook on board the lat- 784
ter's vessel, was presented by him with a pewter plate, which he said he would substitute for the bowl "which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy." This pewter plate was still in use at the time of Mariner's residence in Tonga, and Mariner speaks of it as used to remove the tabu from those who had come in contact with the Tui Tonga. "If anyone is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his taboo, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook." Probably the account of the bowl or dish representing the Tui Tonga in other affairs besides the removal of tabu is correct. It should in any case be fairly easy to avoid incurring tabu by contact with the Tui Tonga's person during his absence.

Augury of an informal sort was often resorted to much as it is 787
by some Europeans. The first native Christian teachers on their way 797
from Tongatabu to Haapai, which was still heathen, set themselves

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as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Christianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the coming fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly sea-sick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his distress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of checking his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threatened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magical control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau*. An excellent note on the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descriptions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

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boil and ulcer sort; that further there are different individuals who specialize in the cure of different diseases. Should a man desire, for example, to put a tabu on his plantation, he will go to a person who has the reputation of being able to cure some sort of hangatamaki with the request that this medicine man (or woman) assist him with his art. The practitioner then makes up little bundles of medicine and hangs them about the premises it is desired to protect. Should anyone, even the owner, dare to break the tabu and touch anything on the property he will be afflicted with the special hangatamaki in which the medicine man consulted specializes, who again is alone able to cure these punitive visitations, which he will be quite ready to do—for a consideration. When it is desired to remove the tabu the owner and the medical practitioner together go and take down the packages. The practice of putting a plantation under the protection of a shark god has already been mentioned.

In 1917 a man died in Tonga as the result of the black art as practised on him by a man of Fiji. In this case the witchcraft was described by the term fakalouakau, that is "by a leaf," or "making a leaf." It seems that a year or two previously the unfortunate victim had been on a visit to Fiji, and had been put under the spell of fakalouakau by a native of that country. Report hath it that contemporaneously with the death of the Tongan the maleficent Fijian also met his own end. One method of practising fakalouakau is to get something which has been in close contact with the person on whom it is desired to operate, e.g., nail-parings, and wrap it up and bury it. As the buried object rots a sympathetic disease will appear in the victim. One man in discussing these matters drew his examples entirely from Fiji. He said that in Fiji a man would take a piece of young leaf shoot and chew it, muttering the while the name of the person he wished to injure. It is dangerous for anyone to come in contact with such a fragment of leaf after it has been spat out; and the basket in which the Tongan medicine to cause the hangatamaki is kept is likewise a source of peril. This man added the further information regarding the black art amongst his neighbors of the Fiji group that there one may cause foot trouble in an enemy by stabbing his foot-prints. A Fijian after drinking a coconut should

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split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

Possession

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867 Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, relates that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

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Conclusion

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his lifetime it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecutions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan observes the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Paradise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it. Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni, Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea, Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his debtor.

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